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DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST
PARTY OF BRAZIL



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KEEP UP THE IDEOLOGICAL BATTLE AND STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE PARTY

Setting up a revolutionary party of the working class is a decisive prerequisite for the triumph of revolution. The ideological factor plays always an outstanding role in this task. But at present its importance is much greater.

The ideological battle becomes more intensive within the party as the class struggle becomes more acute in Brazil and in all other countries. Splitting activities spring up and the class enemy tries to insert into the party ideas which alienate it from the revolution.

Therefore, the communists should be on their guard against anti-Marxist concepts in the ranks of the vanguard of the proletariat and against the undermining

activity of the enemy, they should raise their theoretical and political level, develop their activity and strive to implement the line of the party.

1. — The Communist Party of Brazil is being built through acute class struggles which are expressed, in particular, in the sphere of ideology. The re-organization of the Party was the result of a bitter conflict of opinions and was a major victory of Marxism-Leninism over modern revisionism. This bourgeois trend which is at work in the workers' movement will degrade the Party turning it into a reformist organization of the social-democratic type. Safeguarding and developing the revolutionary party of the proletariat will mark a memorable event in the history of the communist movement.

The successor of the old party, the Communist Party of Brazil, founded in 1922, is, in fact, a new party. Right at the beginning of its activity in February 1962, the Party had to cope with the

savage attacks by the revisionists as well as with the treacherous campaign of the Trotzkyites and the Polop (Politica operaria). Starting with a relatively small number of militants detached from the revisionists, our Party grew drawing revolutionary elements into its ranks. Some of them were of non-proletarian social origin lacking Marxist training. Some came from petty-bourgeois organizations and movements and were still under the influence of their own way of acting and political concepts. A good number of these militants saw the revolutionary character of the Party but did not distinguish its proletarian class stamp and its socialist features. Thus, it was inevitable to stop the growth of ideas alien to the proletariat within the Party.

The Communist Party of Brazil is waging a continuous fight within its ranks against trends at variance with Marxism-Leninism. Following its reorganization, the Party had to cope with petty-bourgeois adventurism which tries to draw it into armed struggle without

having first created the necessary conditions and without adequate preparation. Later on, a thoroughly anarchist trend sprang up propagating methods of so-called «direct action». These trends were both of them smashed. After the April coup a small group came into being in Rio Grande Do Sul which, under the guise of the existence of an «uncontrollable movement» which intended to resort to armed struggle, pretended to attach the Party to the tail-end of the bourgeois radical wing. This group was exposed and expelled from the Party. The Rio Grande Do Sul regional committee pointed out, at the time, that the formation of this group was due to two factors: the existence within the Party of certain elements gripped by the infantile disease of «leftism» and to pressure the radical bourgeoisie exerted among the Party ranks themselves.

Later on, another group with higher ambitions began to crop up its head. It kept its intentions carefully from and conspired against the Party. It carried

on, sub rosa, an unprincipled battle. Its chiefs expressed themselves in favor of the political orientation of the Party but opposed it behind its back. On the surface, they pretended to be at one with the Party leadership but they left no occasion pass by without attacking it for no reason whatsoever. Contrary to Party discipline, they conspired and established contacts outside the organizations exposing the Party to the attacks of reactionaries. They claimed they enjoyed the support of the Chinese Communist Party, a thing which was a downright lie. Their splitting activities aimed at attacking the leadership. When the VIth National Conference of the Party was approaching they intensified their factional activity. Called to account by the overwhelming majority of that Conference, they maneuvered approving the new line and tactics submitted by the Central Committee. But they continued to conspire against the Party.

The principal leader of this group was Tarza de Castro, whose past, in

certain other political organizations, had been marked with careerism and discord-sowing activities. Taking Tarza for a young man eager to fight for revolution, the leadership of the Party tried to turn him into a real communist militant giving him the best of opportunities to do so. Similar efforts were wasted on elements associated with him. But neither he nor his companions could assimilate the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the methods and style of a genuine proletarian party.

Because of his contacts outside the Party, his violation of the norms of clandestine work, Tarza de Castro finished up in jail. His depositions to the police and the army are unworthy of a revolutionary. He arraigned his companions and revealed the names of the Party secretaries. In his attempt to win the sympathy of reactionaries he stated that he was organizing a group and named those who conspired against the Party with him.

This factional group, in spite of its being a small one, caused some damage.

It discouraged some militants from meeting their obligations towards the Party and helped the dictatorial regime to deal blows at the sectors of the organization. Because of their sly and hypocritical ways of action, the members of Tarza's group were boycotted by all our militants.

Up to a certain point, such negative phenomena in the Party life are unavoidable. So long as classes and class struggle exist there are bound to spring up, in one form or another, trends alien to the interests of the proletariat as well as factional attempts. Therefore, it is necessary to be on guard and relentlessly fight any anti-party manifestations and ideas detrimental to the revolutionary movement.

It is inadmissible to tolerate groups or factions in a party which intends to carry out revolution. Unity and discipline are basic conditions to attain this objective. It is impossible to do away altogether with the enemies of the Brazilian people if there is no unity of thought and of action in their vanguard. Groups or

factions, whether in the open or in secret, oppose unity, undermine discipline, weaken the fundamental principle of a single central leadership of the party.

One of the methods imperialism and reaction favor today in their fight against the Party is to cause a split within it. To attain their objective they sow dissension, set up trends in party organizations and send even their agents to carry on undermining work among communists. The Party should take precautionary measures against such splitting activities. Near twenty years ago Mao Tse-tung warned revolutionaries against the undermining activities of the enemy: «It is necessary to be vigilant and see to it that no agents of the enemy worm their way into our Party. The Japanese imperialists' secret service try their utmost to undermine our Party. They try to use their agents, Trotzkyites, pro-Japanese elements and degenerated men whom they send and help to get inside our Party under the guise of militants.»

2. — In their fight to safeguard the Party, the communists should guard against the activities and penetration into their ranks of Trotzkyite and Polop elements who pose as Marxists and friends of the Chinese Communist Party. In reality, they are neither Marxists nor friends of the Chinese Communist Party.

Trotzkyism sprang up in Russia as an anti-Leninist political trend. Lenin and, later, Stalin waged firm battle with it. With the passage of time Trotzkyite theses were repudiated and done away with. Life itself bore out the falsity of the line held by Trotzky and those who followed him. Trotzky was not supported by the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet people hated him. Trotzkyism ceased to exist as a political trend and crossed over to provocation and espionage. Egged on by their hatred towards the Soviet leaders and disappointed by the successes of Stalin's policy, the Trotzkyites went so far as to work in the service of nazism some years prior to the outbreak of the Second World War. They acted as agents

of the enemy, as provocateurs and splitters not only in the Soviet Union but also in China, France and Spain and other countries. After the triumph of the peoples over Germany, Italy and Japan, demoralized Trotzkyism was practically put out of existence. It was after the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that it began to rear its head again. Khrushchev's attacks and those of his companions against Stalin and other Soviet revolutionaries encouraged the Trotzkyites to rear their head again under the guise of a political trend. Since their crimes were still fresh in the memory of workers, they resorted to a two-fold tactics. Some of them came out with the true features of Trotzkyism attached to a supposed IV Internationale. Others came out under different masks as it was the case in Brazil with Polop. During the time when modern revisionism prevailed in the communist movement, these opportunists, taking advantage of the lack of open opposition, presented themselves as upholders of Marxism and

succeeded, in this way, in waylaying some uncautious revolutionaries. But the same enemies of the proletariat and socialism continue to operate under the guise of «leftism» calling themselves partisans of an alleged workers' policy.

The principal method on which the activity of Trotzkyites is based is «penetration». They send their men secretly into other organizations in order to spread their erroneous ideas, to draw people into their ranks and to undermine the unity of the party. They do all this with a view to hindering the consolidation of a genuine Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class. They tell no one that they are members of a Trotzkyite party and they pose as members of the organization in which they take part. They gradually disseminate their dangerous ideas creating an environment of confusion. Theirs is an unscrupulous and anti-revolutionary policy.

Trotzkyites and members of the Polop should in no way militate in the Party. If they succeed in sneaking their way into

the Party eluding revolutionary vigilance, it is necessary to expose and expel them. In the Party there is room only for communists, for those who take their cue only from Marxism-Leninism and devote their life to the revolution. Nor should communists in their practical activity mix up with Trotzkyites and members of the Polop with whom they have nothing in common. Referring to the activity of Trotzkyites in China, Mao Tse-tung called them enemies of and traitors to the nation. In 1938 he stated: «In the unified national front there exist hostile agents who carry on undermining work. They are traitors to the nation, Trotzkyite and pro-Japanese elements.»

The Party organization cannot keep such elements in its ranks. We need derive new strength by recruiting workers, peasants and young revolutionaries. The Party should admit to membership only those who abide by its principles and are determined to defend firmly and at the point of the sword its political orientations, who are resolved to submit to its

discipline and to work with determination for the cause of national liberation and socialism.

3. — In order to play its role as a political vanguard of the working class, the Communist Party of Brazil should guard itself against anti-Marxist concepts at the same time that it strives to spread its truth and carry its orientations to the masses. It is necessary to combat not only revisionist theses but also other erroneous ideas and theories that circulate among left-wing sectors. They are presented under a radical form. They are worked out by some pseudo-Marxist intellectuals both in Brazil and abroad and by certain «theoreticians» of the Cuban revolution. Trotzkyites and their offspring of the Polop, on their part, disseminate their discredited theses as well as ideas and theories approaching their own.

a. — One of the principal views which should be repudiated is that concerning the nature of revolution. The old, badly exposed Trotzkyite thesis

according to which the present revolutionary stage in Latin America is socialist, is coming up on the stage again. It is maintained, at the same time, that national and democratic tasks and socialist ones are blended into one single revolution. These «theories» are a real stumbling block to the revolutionary process. Revolution in Brazil as well as in other Latin American countries has two stages; one a national and democratic stage and the other a socialist one, although they are component parts of a single well defined process and have different substance. The first stage of the revolution is determined by objective and subjective conditions. As early as 1905, Lenin, combatting the absurd semianarchist ideas on the immediate realization of the maximal program of the Party, said: «The level of economic development in Russia (objective condition) and the level of the awareness and organization of the broad masses of the proletariat (subjective condition indissolubly bound with the objective condition) make the complete and

immediate emancipation of the working class impossible.» Under the present conditions of Brazil, there exist neither the objective nor subjective conditions for the immediate realization of a revolution of a socialist nature. But all conditions are ripe for effecting a national-democratic revolution which will triumph paving the way for a socialist revolution. In a country like ours where imperialist oppression and exploitation are so acute, where the landowning system and political reaction hold sway, it would be absurd and a short-sighted policy not to raise high the banner of fighting for national independence, democracy and for turning the land over to the peasants, requirements which bear the stamp of democracy rather than of socialism. Forces that take part in the national and democratic revolution are much broader than those who take part in a socialist revolution. In addition to the proletariat, poor and medium peasants, the petty bourgeoisie of the cities, they include also the well-to-do peasants and the

national bourgeoisie so long as the spear-head of the revolution is not directed against capitalism but against imperialism and the survivals of feudalism. At the stage of socialist revolution, the ranks of the forces of the classes which take part in the revolution do not include the capitalists of the cities and the countryside, because the revolutionary objective is to liquidate private ownership on the means of production. Historical experience shows that all the socialist revolutions that have been carried out so far have passed through the democratic stage. The most recent example, that of the Cuban revolution, corroborates this rule. Cuba embarked on the socialist stage only after it accomplished the tasks of the agrarian and anti-imperialist revolution. It is only in very advanced countries like the USA, France, England and West Germany where the democratic stage has been passed over, that the stage of socialist revolution is in the order of the day. Not to draw a demarcation line in Brazil between one type of revolution and ano-

ther means to slip into sectarian positions and head for disaster to the benefit of the enemy. On the other hand, putting up a wall between one stage and another and ignoring the links between them is none other than a right-wing opportunist stand.

b. — Another viewpoint that should be combated is in connection with the criticism of the internationalist attitude of the Party. Some reproach the Party with preoccupying itself too much with international problems. According to them, the Party should deal only with the problems of the country. They do not consider it necessary to offer solidarity and support to the Chinese Communist Party, to the Party of Labor of Albania and other Marxist-Leninist parties. Those who hold such opinions are not proletarian, internationalist revolutionaries but bourgeois nationalists and petty-bourgeois democrats. Before every thing else, the Party is a means of the Brazilian revolution but, at the same time, as a proletarian Party, it is a detachment of the world revolution. Solidarity

and mutual aid are the pillars of the international workers' movement. Just as we should lend all support to the revolutionary movements in Latin America, it is our sacred duty to express our solidarity with Vietnam, China and Albania. There is no gainsaying the fact that the Brazilian revolution will triumph only if it will have the support of revolutionary people, especially, of genuine socialist countries. To confuse the internationalist stand of the Communist Party of Brazil with its lack of independence would, in fact, mean to maintain a neutral, not to say a hostile, attitude towards the Chinese Communist Party. This is unacceptable for a Marxist-Leninist organization. Communist parties are independent and enjoy equal rights. But they are bound to one another by common interests which result from the very nature of the cause they espouse. The triumph or defeat of one party is felt, positively or negatively, in the struggle of other parties. Failing to take a clear-cut and firm stand towards China — the

strongest bastion of world revolution — would mean to shirk class solidarity, to ignore the main ally of the Brazilian people in the struggle for the liberation of Brazil from the U.S. imperialist yoke. Under present world conditions a proletarian revolutionary is only the one who dares to raise high the banner of battle against the Yankee imperialists and their servitors, against the revisionists and in defence of People's China.

c. — Attacks against Marxist-Leninist leaders is another favorite theme of the opponents of the Party.

These attacks originated mainly at the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. With a view to crushing the vertebral column of the communist movement, the revisionists began to cast aspersions on the truly revolutionary leaders under the pretext of fighting dogmatism and the cult of the individual. All the enemies of the Party joined in their chorus. These enemies maliciously analyze in a biased way the history of the Party and in its activity

stress only its mistakes and hush up all that is positive and even laudable in its existence. These renegades from the Party maliciously attribute to the present leaders of the Communist Party of Brazil real or imaginary mistakes with a view to impairing their prestige. They purposely conceal the great merit of those who detached themselves from revisionism and who succeeded in drawing lessons from the mistakes and shortcomings of the past. For ulterior devilish reasons, they draw no demarcation line between Prestes and his followers and the leaders who refused opportunism and reorganized the Party. It was not fortuitous that Tarza de Castro and his group had concentrated all their anti-party activities against its leadership. Those who aim at destroying the party of the working class always try to attack its General Staff. A revolutionary party cannot develop, wax strong and play its role without a relatively stable leadership enjoying prestige, armed with experience and some kind of theoretical abi-

lity. Only a leadership of this kind will be able to guide the Party successfully under the complicated situation which our country is passing through. The spearhead of the attacks of all those who strive to hinder the building of the vanguard of the working class is directed, in general, against veteran revolutionaries who possess deep knowledge and experience. Criticizing leaders for their shortcomings and mistakes is essential. There are no privileged persons in the Party. But this criticism should be done in a constructive way, at meetings, based on concrete facts not on futile hypotheses or on slanders. It is the duty of every militant who wants the unity of his Party and the triumph of revolution to protect the Party leaders from attacks launched by the enemy, open or under cover. The leadership of the Communist Party of Brazil includes elements who reorganized the Party, active in fighting revisionism and upholding the revolutionary line, elements who contributed to the highest degree in working out Brazi-

lian revolutionary Marxist-Leninist thought and who are training a party capable of effecting revolution.

d. — A further thesis that expresses the influence of trends hostile to the proletariat is that which favors the free circulation among communists of every idea even if it is opposed to the Party and to Marxism-Leninism. This thesis paves the way for some elements to attack the program and line of the Party, this attack being directed against the principles and leaders of the Party; it paves the way for erroneous views and other trends to spread freely in the Party organization. It allows the enemy to insert ideas into the Party contrary to the directives of the Central Committee. There is no doubt that debates on ideas are necessary and quite valuable to the Party. But the ideas to be brought up for discussion are, in the first place, those that help educate militants, that favor the application of the political line, that help strengthen the Party and contribute to the advancement of the revolu-

tionary process. Erroneous ideas cannot be avoided among communists. When such a thing is confirmed it is necessary to fight them making clear their dangerous substance. But when it comes to anti-party concepts, these should be fought without hesitation. To admit debates about such concepts means to sow confusion and insecurity, to undermine unity and paralyze the activity of the Party. It means to bring about an ideological split in the first place and, as a consequence, an organic split. «By giving wide competences to its members», Lenin said, «the Party demands, at the same time, as it is natural, that they should be loyal to its line, objectives and ideas. The Party does not allow the spread of anti-Party ideas because it considers them incompatible with membership in its ranks.» The Party is an organization in which people enter of their own free will. Those who enter it accept, a priori, its program, its statute, its political line and are bound to militate in one of its cells. When they are not at one with

these basic conditions, they can not, of course, be militant of the Party.

The fight against anti-Marxist manifestations should be waged on two fronts. Both «right-wing» and «left-wing» trends should be systematically exposed. Although on the surface they appear to be at opposite ends, in essence they are both opportunist. Many present theses of the «left wing» are based on the viewpoints of the XXth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Khrushchev, on his part, fished some of the ideas of this Congress out of the arsenal of the Trotzkyites. Exposing the «left wing» trend does not mean to slacken the fight against modern revisionism, the main source of danger in the communist movement.

4. — The purpose in fighting dangerous ideas and safeguarding the unity of the Party is to strengthen and organize the Party so that right opinions may prevail in it. Of major importance in this fight is to arouse living ideas as against out-

worn formulae, to put forth arguments based on practice as against abstract speculations at variance with reality, to defend, in a wise way, political orientations as against the mechanical repetition of given phrases. Debates become more fruitful in proportion to the contribution they render to making the Party work with the masses, to helping it to apply its principles and its line in a creative way.

Ideological fighting is a continuous process requiring special care. In order to carry out successfully this struggle it is necessary to resort to just and suitable methods which help clarify complicated problems, educate militants and raise their theoretical and political level and the level of their practical activity. Persuasion is the main method to be used, that is, to persuade through arguments and facts that the principles, programs and line of the Party are correct. Most of those who maintain misunderstandings are persons who err. They are elements who are under the pressure of «left wing» or pseudo-Marxist trends and who fall

a victim to enemy influence and propaganda. A debate to help argue the class viewpoints of the proletariat will enable them to own their mistakes and recognize the correctness of the positions of the Party. It is necessary to treat them in a brotherly way and with patience but without yielding to the false ideas they defend. If they insist on their erroneous views causing damage to the Party, they should be warned about it. This does not mean that divergent viewpoints should be smothered. The right to differ is warranted by the Statute. But a militant who brings forth divergences is obliged to carry out the resolutions of the Party first and then may present his divergences at the proper time. We can not be tolerant if we are dealing with a plotter or factionist. A plotter resorts to dangerous activity against the Party. He always trumps up charges against the leadership and strives to set up groups for this purpose. He lets no occasion pass by to create an environment of skepticism.

Therefore, he should be exposed and expelled from the Party.

It is during the ideological fight both in political actions and in its activity with the masses, that a revolutionary party is tempered which the Brazilian working class and people stand in need of. By fighting anti-Marxist concepts and pursuing a genuinely revolutionary course, the Party is kneaded into the shape of a vanguard force of the proletariat, as the principal element in the service of liberating Brazil and upholding the cause of socialism. We have scored success in this direction. In the documents of our Party, Marxism-Leninism is beginning to find a national form and to be expressed in truly Brazilian terms, thoughts and style as the only way to carry out in practice the invincible doctrine of the proletariat in the right way and under the concrete conditions of the country. Its organizations are spreading to nearly all the States of Brazil and its influence is being enhanced in urban and rural centers. The bonds between the Party

and the masses are becoming stronger and stronger. Young men and young women are enthusiastically joining its ranks and mastering its principles. The ideological fight in itself is a sign of its vitality, that the Party is on its guard against mixing up with modern revisionism, petty-bourgeois radicalism or sectarian dogmatism. It forges ahead to fulfil its historic mission.

Holding high the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, coming into ever closer contact with the masses and striving to carry out the resolutions of its VIth Conference, the Party looks forward to a glorious future. To be a member of the COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL is an honor and a revolutionary pride.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

May 1967

EXPOSE THE GOVERNMENT THROUGH MASS STRUGGLE

Another marshal is at the head of the Government. Largescale propaganda is being conducted about him. Costa Silva's advent to power is being presented as a new stage in the life of the country. His supporters propagandize that the present President will improve the economic situation and that he will bring about democratic changes. These are all lies. The same military regime is in power which took over power through the April coup d'état.

When Castello Branco retired from the presidency of the Republic, Brazil was in a veritable plight which was characterized by the unbearable lack of the means of existence, by the striking reduction of the purchasing power of

the masses, by reductions in wages, by high taxes which weaken national economy and by a rapid drop in trade. Freedoms were altogether smothered. All kinds of outrages were set up against national sovereignty and independence. A number of reactionary and anti-patriotic laws issued by the dictator weighed heavily on the people. There was general discontent.

Against such a critical conjuncture, the change of Government presented for many political currents prospects of improvement of the situation. Thus, Costa Sylva's administration is giving rise to most diverse interpretations. At times it says that it will pursue a policy differing from that pursued by Castello Branco. It pretends to build itself on alleged democratic foundations, allowing some kinds of freedom and revising some doings and laws of the dictatorship. Speculation is going on in connection with certain radical changes in foreign policy and in economy and finances. Statements made at a collective press conference and on the

foreign policy by marshal Costa Sylva contributed to these speculations.

These prospects are altogether groundless. Persecutions of patriots are kept up and the living conditions of workers are becoming worse. Right at the start the Government showed its dictatorial character and defined the anti-popular course of its policy. The situation created by the April coup will be liquidated only by the powerful actions of the masses. Brazil will be completely liberated and will ensure real democracy only through the people's revolution.

I

Just as Castello Branco's so also Costa Sylva's Government represent the forces of the April coup. He who now occupies the highest post at Planalto Palace has stated more than once that during his stay in power «he will be guided by the ideas of the 1964 Revolution». Costa Sylva's Government was not

elected by the people but was forced on the nation by reactionary armymen. It is, thus, a continuation of the military dictatorship which has been established in our country more than three years ago. It represents the interests of large estate owners and the upper bourgeoisie bound with the trusts of North America. It is subservient to the imperialists of the United States.

In his capacity as War Minister in Castello Brancos Government he was one of the exponents of the April coup. Costa Silva became the spokesman of «the tough line» of the army. He was one of the principal authors of the Constitutional Act No 2. The arbitrary purge in the army was done under his direct supervision. During the period he headed the War Department, barracks were turned to torture chambers and the officers of the Armed Forces tortured and murdered many patriots.

When he came to power, Costa Silva adopted a style of administration characterized by pomposity and involving the

expenditure of extravagant sums of money. Sumptuous banquets, grandiose receptions, for which large sums of public funds are spent, are in the order of the day. A costly propaganda machine has been set up to boost his person and to propagate his vicious acts and rotten ideas. All this is in flagrant contrast with the plight in which the workers live and the tremendous difficulties through which the country is passing.

The make-up of the Costa Silva Government reflects its real militarist, anti-popular and anti-national features. Eight of the fifteen Ministers are military men. The key posts have been seized by persons directly connected with U.S. monopolists. The Army is headed by General Lira Tavares, one of the leaders of the «Sorbonne Group» and co-author of the Law on Public Security. At the head of the Ministry of Finances there is Delfim Neto, connected with Consultec, a planning organization in the service of the Yankee imperialists. Jarbas Passarinho, secret service official of the Army,

holds the post of Minister of Labor. The Ministry of Justice is headed by Gama Silva, lawyer of the big industrial firms and proprietors of Sao Paulo, famous persecutor of students. The key posts of the state apparatus are in the hands of high ranking officers of the Armed Forces. Nearly two hundred army-men are in charge of the highest offices of the civil service. Thus, for instance, in PETROBRAS not only the President but also the chief managers are generals. Army generals head also the CSN (National Siderurgical Association), the Federal Network of Railroads, the Oil Council and the National Association of Alkaloids. Such important institutions as IBRA (Brazilian Institute of Agrarian Reform), INDA (National Institute for Agrarian Development), the Central Brazilian Institute, the Department of Posts and Telegraphs and the Brazilian Development Association, are all under the management of Army generals. Generals direct also the Secretariats of State Security. An Admiral heads the Depart-

ment of Water and Electric Power and a colonel is at the head of DNCS (National Department of Irrigation Projects). A General manages the SUDENE (North and East Development Superintendence). A supervising colonel directs SUDAM (the Amazonia Superintendence). Army-men, are in charge of CONTEL (National Council of Telecommunications) and Brazilian Telephone Ass'n. A general heads the National Book Institute and an Admiral the National Institute of Education for SURDO.

The policy the present Government is pursuing aims at consolidating the entire judicial system established in a discriminating way by Castello Branco and his group. Costa Silva has made it clear that he will not return to the old system, that is, to a climate of relative freedoms. He repeats with persistence that he will enforce the law, that he will subjugate the people to the dictate of a fascist constitution, to the Press and Security laws, in short, an entirely despotic legislation worked out by «Sor-

bonne» and the Embassy of the U.S.A. The Government upholds the thesis that it is necessary to rely on the Alliance for Progress and to conclude new agreements with USAID. The economic and financial orientation which pursues the directives of IMF (International Monetary Fund) based on the so-called fight against inflation will bring about greater sacrifices to the Brazilian people. Proclaiming some kind of liberalism in giving credits and lowering taxes on incomes, the Government intends to favor only certain groups of powerful industrialists and financial circles. The line of its foreign policy will mainly be one of submission to the U.S. State Department. Costa Silva and his Minister for Foreign Affairs approved the neo-colonialist agreement of Punta del Este. With regard to China and Cuba, the attitude of the Government is hostile and in support of the Yankee warmongers.

II

Costa Silva's Government is somewhat different from that of Castello Branco. Contrary to his predecessor, Costa Silva tries to win popularity. He pretends to be a plain man resolved to meet some of the demands of the people. In contrast with Castello Branco, he says he will reform the policy of developing the sector of economy and finances and tries to resort to other methods of allegedly combating inflation. The language used by Itamarati differs from that used by Juraci Magalhaes. As concerns certain problems like that of organizing Inter-American Forces of Peace and Brazil's stand towards the Vietnam conflict, there have been certain changes. As regards political persecutions the Government approved, though in a limited way, the return of a certain number of fugitives, a thing which was not allowed during Castello Branco's time.

Differences between the present government and the former one are not

substantial. They contain some shades which do not modify the basic substance of the policy adopted by the dictatorship. This policy further aggravated the deep discontent which threatens the very existence of the military regime. A more strict use of the same methods used by Castello Branco might have given cause for great popular outbreaks and grave consequences. This is one of the reasons that compelled the Costa Silva group to make changes in the form of the policy pursued by the former regime, with a view to waylaying the masses and alienating them from the revolutionary struggle.

Differences in the method of administration in comparison with that of Castello Branco are made also because of secondary contradictions which have taken place within the ranks of the principal forces of the military coup. These contradictions sprang up following Goulard's downfall. Before uniting in order to suppress the patriotic and democratic movement, those who effected the coup

had divergences in many problems. Within the armed forces themselves there existed contradictions between the «Tough Line» and the «Sorbonne Group» parties. The latter tried to put into effect the militarist and pro-Yankee «doctrine» of the Upper Military School whereas the «Tough Line», though propagating also a militarist and pro-Yankee policy, upheld measures which represented the interests of those sectors of the ruling class who, in certain issues, opposed the policy of complete subservience to the United States of America. These groups vied with each other to get control of state power.

In October 1965, the army men of the «Tough Line» established Costa Silva's dictatorship though the «Sorbonne Group» maneuvered to pick its own candidate for the Presidency of the Republic. Costa Silva's candidature became official only after an agreement reached between these two military trends. The «Sorbonne Group» received guarantees that Castello Branco's policy continues to

be put into practice and that it be entitled to appoint Ministers for the most important functions.

Consequently, the present Administration is a government of compromises between the «Tough Line» and the «Sorbonne Group». But divergences in public issues between Costa Sylva's and Castello Branco's partisans exist and are manifested all the same.

III

When Costa Silva became President of the Republic, while including persons of the «Sorbonne Group» in his Government, invited also elements who had been removed from public administration by Castello Branco and assigned them to posts in the Government. While carrying out the reactionary policy of his predecessor, Costa Silva issued some measures which do not comply fully with this policy. He ordered a re-investigation to be made of the dismissal of

the deputy-Directors of Social Assistance which had been ordered by Castello Branco, with a view to reappointing them to their former jobs. He allotted supplementary pay to candidates who had been approved. He boosted taxation on incomes. Jarbas Passarinho went as far as to talk about an eventual re-examination of the policy of payments. In connection with the war in Vietnam, the Minister for Foreign affairs stated at the Chamber of Deputies: «Brazil remains neutral in this war. Although the former Government dispatched some medicaments and gave aid to one of the belligerent sides on humanitarian grounds, we wish to maintain a neutral attitude in this conflict». Costa Silva has issued statements about fugitives as a result of which certain politicians as Juscelino Kubitschek and Ademar de Barro were permitted to return to Brazil.

After Costa Silva was put in charge of the Executive, the movement of the masses began to grow. Students throughout the country organized rallies against

the anti-patriotic MEC-USAID agreements and expressed resentment against the Yankee imperialists. The U.S. Ambassador was expelled by the Brazilian University undergraduates. Workers in several states forward demands for higher wages, for trade union freedom and protest against Guarantee Funds. People of various walks of life unanimously condemn the brutal intervention of U.S. agents in Brazil, particularly, their enforcement of birth control in northern and north-eastern zones.

The other old opposition forces, too, had proclaimed, in an intensive way, a re-examination of the laws on the Press and National Security and of the Constitution itself imposed by the former Government. With a view to gaining influence over the masses, Carlos Lacerda favors the formation of a third party and poses as an opponent of militarism.

Preoccupied by the development of events, the «Sorbonne Group» and some other reactionary forces launched open criticism on Government orientations,

expressed their discontent and began to resort to conspiracy. Castello Branco headed this «opposition». His former Minister attacked certain economic and financial measures of Costa Silva. In an interview to the press, Cordero de Faria went a step further. He stated that Costa Silva, who had been established in power, was entirely confounded and was inadequately trained to fulfil the functions of a President. In a bulletin addressed to his troops, the Minister of the Armed Forces, Lira Tavares, makes roundabout threats stating that the armed forces will not tolerate any modification of the policy established by the April coup. Speaking about the policy of the present Government, General Bizarria Mamede, on his part, stated at Sao Paulo that, regardless of the wish of any one, the system adopted during Castello Branco's regime will be upheld by the Army.

Even the «tough line» elements, representing the Government's main fulcrum are showing signs of uneasiness in the face of the possibility that certain

definite measures of Costa Silva should weaken the control of the militarymen in Brazil in favor of the old political groups.

Parallel with the growth of pressure by some military circles, Costa Silva is being ever more exposed. His Education Minister, after having loudly declared that the MEC-USAID agreements would be re-examined, ended by softening his words and finally concluded another ill-famed agreement with that American agency, an agreement subjugating still more Brazil's public education to the United States of America. Jarbas Passarinho, who was propagandising a new wage policy, a few days later went back on his words, confining himself to announcing some insignificant wage arrangements. In various Brazilian states the arrests of patriots and torturing of political prisoners continue. The military courts continue to sentence many citizens. Students of the federal Capital have been manhandled by the forces of «order» in the very University grounds.

The Mayday manifestations in Guanabara suffered the unbearable intervention of police. Exceptionally fierce was the suppression of the participants in the Caparao movement. The army arrested many persons and killed the young man Milton Soares.

Facts go to show that with the reshuffle of the Government neither the political calmness, so much desired by the reactionary forces, was achieved, nor is the country heading towards democratization as some opposition trends were thinking. In whatever favouring measure, however small it may be, the democratic sectors meet with the resistance of the military men who claim to continue defending the nation. The «Sorbonne group» is firmly opposed to all and every favouring measure, however elementary, which is in contrast with the FBI and the State Department orientation.

The military dictatorship continues to go through a crisis and its inner contradictions do not disappear. The Costa Silva

Government seems to be more uncertain than that of Castello Branco. It avoids resolving any problem weighing on the country. Consequently, its demagogical policy, even against its own will, may bring about an extension of the mass movement and the restoration of the influence of the old political groups. In such circumstances, Costa Silva has to resort to brutal oppression, but in case he will insist on his demagogical actions, he may be overthrown by a new military coup.

The tactics used by the government, owing to some factors of internal character, is doomed to failure. It has no prospect of success due to the world situation which is worsening with every passing day.

In the face of the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people and of the continual demonstrations of the peoples, the American people included, against the Yankee aggression in Vietnam, the U.S. imperialists, feeling themselves helpless, intend to continue the «escalation»

of war in South-East Asia, to attack China and throw mankind into a large-scale war. Of late, the situation became more threatening. Washington's military operations in the demilitarized zone of Vietnam and the intensification of the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong portend an extension of the war. The Middle East events are a sign of rising international tensions due to the policy of Yankee imperialism.

Likewise, as a result of the growth in Latin America of the democratic and national-liberation struggles, which are taking the shape of the partisan warfare and popular revolutions, the White House is still further embarking on the road of the increase of oppression and extension of its neo-colonialist activities. The Punta del Este Conference is presented as a new effort to extend robbery on the continent by the U.S. trusts and still further submit Latin America to the interests of the U.S. magnates, acting under the pretext of the Common Market and giving «aids» to ruling classes. In

the face of the global strategy of Yankee imperialism, and according to its plans, the Latin American countries should be transformed into reliable rear-lines of the United States of America. In compliance with this strategy, the national, popular and democratic movement must be brutally suppressed and the state power must remain in the hands of those elements that enjoy the greatest confidence of the Pentagon.

The April 1 coup, which was carried out under American inspiration, was essentially aimed at forcing upon Brazil a policy diametrically opposed to national interests, and at including that country in the U.S. war plans. Who else can better express the aims of the State Department in this country than the «Sorbonne group»? Precisely for this reason, this group is seeking the establishment of a policy worked out and implemented during Castello Branco's rule, because they consider it as an indispensable means and in position to make Brazil advance in compliance with the

objectives of the Yankee imperialists for world domination. No change in the system established by Castello Branco would have the approval of the «Sorbonne group» and its White House bosses. If such a change were to take place, Washington would mobilize all its agents and would resort to all means to have the policy of the previous government prevail over everything.

V

The Communist Party of Brazil, which from the very first moments fought without compromise Castello Branco's dictatorship, adopts a determined and consistent attitude towards the Costa Silva dictatorial government. It is always energetically opposed also to the «Sorbonne group».

The Brazilian people can by no means entertain illusions with regard to the present government or foster any hopes that the problems will be resolved

in a way favourable to the interests of the masses and democracy as a result of the divergencies between the military groups and the reactionary forces. The second rate contradictions existing in the political process must be rightly appraised and exploited. However, it is indispensable to bear in mind that the decisive factor is the powerful action of the broad masses in the cities and villages. Those contradictions are important only when they create the possibility for the development of the people's struggle.

The popular forces must express their demands and boldly act against the dictatorship and against the Yankee intervention in Brazil. It is necessary that the Costa Silva government should be exposed in the struggle for the rights of the masses, to achieve freedom and in defence of national interests. Conditions are favourable for the development of the broad movement of the masses and to deal blows at the oppressors. The various strata of the population do not allow themselves to be deceived by the

promises of the rulers. They throw themselves into political activities. The Brazilia University students set an example of how to exploit the present situation in the struggle for freedom, against the Yankee imperialists and in support of the heroic Vietnamese people. The anti-U.S. demonstrations in the country's main cities show that the students do not reconcile themselves with the situation and that they have embarked on the revolutionary road. The Sao Paulo workers, too, invaded on May 1 the streets of the city and jointly with other popular forces, and even with progressive elements of the clergy, condemned the dictatorship and defended their demands. The growth of the mass movement, which rises in an ever higher level, and the extension of the united front are the factors that will determine the course of the present political conjuncture in favour of the patriotic and democratic forces.

The struggle for the raising of wages, for the abolition and reduction of taxes,

particularly in the countryside, against the privations in living and against the sky-rocketing prices; the demand for the revocation of the fascistizing constitution and the laws on the press and national security, the release of political prisoners, democratic autonomy and freedom, the determined struggle against MEC-USAID, against the fresh Yankee attacks in Amazonia, the expulsion of the peace volunteers and of all the U.S. agents acting in Brazil, as well as the punishment of those carrying out anti-conception experiments in the North and North-East, the aid by all the means and solidarity with the Vietnamese people and with all those who are fighting in Latin America for their national independence, those are now urgent tasks for all the workers, for all the patriots and democrats.

These actions will contribute to the efforts to organize the Brazilians in the struggle for independence, progress and freedom. The united front, capable of liquidating the dictatorship and the

Yankee imperialists is the unity of the broad masses. The action of the masses and the work in the united front are today more necessary than ever.

The militarist and pro-U.S. regime in our country will not be replaced in a peaceful and gradual manner. It must be overthrown by the people. In reality that regime is fighting against the workers, against the overwhelming majority of the nation. Precisely for this reason, every movement, strike, demonstration or struggle on the road for just objectives must be transformed into a broad struggle for the liquidation of the odious regime of the April coup.

The final victory of the people can be achieved only through revolutionary struggle, through people's war.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF BRAZIL

May 1967

RESOLUTELY SUPPORT THE CHINESE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The proletarian cultural revolution which is in progress in China is a great event in the history of mankind. Its significance and aims are comparable to those of the 1917 October Revolution. The heroic Chinese people, under the direction of Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party, are paving new roads for the complete triumph of socialism. The teachings drawn from the cultural Revolution greatly enrich the doctrine of the proletariat. The grandeur of this revolution is such as it will require still a long time to appraise in all their fulness the high lessons it contains and the deep repercussion it will have in the life of the peoples.

There have elapsed but 17 years since the Chinese people established their own power. Despite this, by its proletarian cultural Revolution China entered a new stage of socialist revolution, a stage which no other people can attain. Mao Tse-tung's thought, the Marxism-Leninism of our days, guides and inspires the multimillion Chinese masses in their tremendous efforts for the transformation of man and society.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil hails the great proletarian cultural revolution and its wise and tested helmsman, comrade Mao Tse-tung. They are sure that the victories achieved are a prelude of the new and great victories which will lead China to a great and radiant future.

The communists are duty-bound to become acquainted with the content of the proletarian cultural revolution and to master its experience, having as their target the liberation of the Brazilian people.

1) At the present time a broad class

struggle process is taking place in China. For a long period, following the seizure of power on the part of the proletariat, classes are existing and the class struggle is going on. The overthrown bourgeoisie are making constant efforts to re-establish their rule. Their ideology remains still alive and manifests itself in all the sectors of society. It penetrates into the Party and there it meets with spokesmen who, although posing as communists, pursue in practice such an orientation which serves the bourgeoisie. These elements were opposing the revolutionary road and were seeking to impose their erroneous viewpoints.

In China two opposite lines were facing each other and everybody should adopt a decision regarding them: they were the revolutionary proletarian line, defended by Mao Tse-tung and supported by the overwhelming majority of the people, and the reactionary bourgeois line, pursued by some communists and supported by a small minority of the population. The former relies on the

masses, on their creative spirit, encourages their initiatives and their will for struggle. The latter is afraid of the masses, holds their activity in check, hampers their spontaneous actions and underestimates their revolutionary force. The one is directed towards a new culture and against the ideas, customs and remnants of the past. The other supports the development of a culture with an anti-socialist content, spreads bourgeois concepts and customs. The one places politics and ideology on the front rank. The other one raises the material incentive. The one leads to socialism, while the other to capitalism.

The reactionary-bourgeois line has its social foundations on the remnants of the old exploiting classes, in particular of the bourgeoisie, and on Party members that have not changed their concepts. In the present-day circumstances this line is, also, an expression of modern revisionism which appeared in China under the most refined forms. The fight resolutely waged by the Chinese communists

against Khrushchev and company contributed to the discovery of the enemies that had wormed their way into the Party and to their exposure as revisionists and counter-revolutionaries.

The extraordinary movement which is spreading all over the boundless territory of China is aimed at ensuring the complete victory of the proletarian orientation and the continuity of socialist revolution. It is aimed at preventing the re-establishment of the exploiters to power, as well as the change which was brought about, following the XX Congress of the CPSU, in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries, where revisionism liquidated the gains of the people.

The proletarian cultural revolution is an objective indispensability of the struggle which is being waged, after the overthrow of the exploiting classes, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, that is between the road of the complete victory of socialism and the road leading to capitalism. Experience has

shown that the seizure of power by the proletariat, the socialization of the means of production and the rapid growth of productive forces are insufficient. It is not enough to liquidate illiteracy and to bring education to the entire people. Without carrying out the ideological revolution, without radically transforming the conscience of the men and women, without thoroughly eliminating the feudal and bourgeois concepts from the minds of people, socialist revolution heads toward degeneration and capitalism. For this reason, the cultural revolution is indispensable. And, as all facts go to show, within the context of socialist revolution, other revolutions will be carried out also under different forms, which will have as their target the liquidation of all the obstacles that will crop up on the road of mankind towards communism.

2) The cultural revolution is the greatest revolutionary mass movement that has been witnessed so far in the world. It is the fullest confirmation of

the Marxist thesis on the role of the masses in history, creatively developed by Mao Tse-tung. The people are the main figure of the proletarian cultural Revolution. It is the masses that, drawing inspiration from the great ideas of Mao Tse-tung, are effecting the deep transformations which are being witnessed in the biggest Asian State. Millions of workers, peasants, students and soldiers are organizing mass rallies manifestations and taking active part in the country's political life; they expose the counter-revolutionaries and relieve of their posts those who have embarked on the road that leads to capitalism; they fight everything regressive and denounce the ideas opposed to socialism; they carry out all-round actions including the different fields of activity: science and public education, art and culture, production and the State leadership, the Party and the armed forces.

The cultural revolution confirmed the teachings of Marx and Engels that the emancipation of the workers is the

work of the workers themselves and that it is put into practice not only in the fight for the overthrow of the old state power, but also in the whole process of the building of new society. Confidence in the masses is a problem of primordial importance. The practice of defending the masses and making them to follow the Party in passive manner is fallacious and alien to the ideology of the proletariat. The party plays its role of vanguard, when it knows how to closely connect itself with the masses, to encourage their initiative, to listen to their voice and aspirations, to sum up their experience and, based on all this, to correctly guide them.

The method used in the cultural Revolution leads the masses to emancipate themselves by their own efforts and become self-educated by their own experience in the process of the struggle. «The masses» — the August 1966 resolution of the CC of the CP of China points out — «are educated in the great revolutionary movement and learn to

distinguish truth from falsehood and right from wrong in the accomplishment of the tasks». The procedure of intervention in the accomplishment of the tasks that are incumbent on the people is unacceptable. It would be easy to the present-day Chinese leaders to relieve immediately of their posts all those who no more represent the interests of the people. But this way of acting would not serve the political self-education of the masses. Thus, no dismissal of Party or State leaders pursuing the capitalist road is done through administrative measures, but it must be the consequence of a conscious activity of the masses. The latter, in final account, dismiss from the leading posts the followers of the reactionary bourgeois line.

Millions of men and women are raising their political conscience and are becoming active builders of socialism. Armies are coming into being, which open new roads and continue old revolutionary traditions. Awakening the creative initiative of the masses, the Cultural

Revolution is discovering a large number of men and women whose talent, skill in the struggle, determination and loyalty towards the people are being tested daily. They are the standard-bearers of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Red Guards are revolutionizing Chinese society repudiating privileges, prejudices, superstitions, the customs and ways of life that are characteristic of the capitalist or feudal system.

In contrast with what the propaganda of the imperialists and revisionists claims, the Chinese workers, actively participating in the Cultural Revolution, strengthening their class conscience, cause the production to develop at more rapid strides. The data of industrial development during last year indicate a considerable growth of the country's economy. Agricultural production in 1966 was one of the most abundant in China's history. There is an increase in the number of innovators, technicians and men of science. Great technological successes have been attained. China has reached such

a level of development that she is in position to produce most perfect machines and tools. She conducted the nuclear test through a guided missile, which was a full success. The masses, parallel with the carrying out of revolution, are increasing production at rapid rates.

The struggle against U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism became a characteristic of the masses themselves. The spontaneous demonstrations of the broad sections of the population respond to the criminal activity of the imperialists and revisionists. Forms of revolutionary struggle, of really mass character, break out, expressing the deep popular feelings of the revolution in progress. Nothing escapes the vigilant eye of the people. Youth destroys the centers of espionage, provocation and conspiracy.

In this way, the future of China and of the revolution is being placed with every passing day in the hands of the broad masses. The broad participation of the masses in China's political life is a lesson the revolutionaries of the whole

world hold in the center of their attention. Our party must draw inspiration from this wonderful example. The communists will be unable to play their role if they will not be in position to enjoy the confidence of the people, if they will not awaken their conscience, if they will not mobilize and organize them so that the people themselves should carry out the revolution. Everything hampering the approach and coexistence of the communists with the masses — sectarianism, isolation, attitudes of superiority, arrogance, etc. — must be fought. This is a fundamental condition for the victory of revolution in our country.

3. During the progress of the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese people entered a new stage of the thousand-year struggle of man for freedom; people's democracy assumed proportions that had never been reached so far. The broad masses of workers freely express their viewpoints and impose their sovereign will. At present, the Chinese people enjoy such a freedom that no other people have ever enjoyed.

In cities and villages the voice of the masses is strongly echoed in millions of wall papers in which every citizen writes what he thinks and feels. Through these big character posters great debates are held by the masses themselves. Manifestations are organized everywhere without any authorization being necessary for this purpose. The Red Guards, by hundreds and thousands, go to the most distant areas, carrying with them the flames of revolution. The right to criticize every thing has encompassed the life the whole nation. Nobody, whatever high post he may hold, is immune from the people's criticism.

Under the impulse of the masses, a democratic system, similar to the one used by the Paris Commune, is being put into practice in the elections to the state organs. At broad meetings people present and discuss the names of the nominated candidates, of those best expressing the interests of the collective. The elected persons may at any moment be revoked by the very masses that have elected

them. In various provinces the state power passes directly into the hands of revolutionary organizations that have sprung up during the Cultural Revolution. Thus, the dictatorship of the proletariat is exercised in the most democratic form. The more the state power is placed under the control of the revolutionary masses the smaller will be the risks of bureaucratism and of return to capitalism.

The democracy exercised at present in China responds to the real concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat: broad freedoms for the people and incessant fight against the enemies of socialism. It has nothing in common with the bourgeois liberalism which, indeed, means democracy for the rich and the exploiters and denial of rights for the overwhelming majority of the population. In China, nobody hampers the action of students, soldiers, workers and peasants, who are free to express their own viewpoints and to forge their revolution ahead, while in the United States of America .

negroes are brutally persecuted, in the Soviet Union the student demonstrations against U.S. imperialism are dispersed by force, in Indonesia hundreds of thousands of people are barbarously killed in order to intimidate the patriots, in Brazil the people live under the heel of a military dictatorship which is in the service of Yankee imperialism.

Proletarian democracy in China confirms the falsehood of the propaganda of the reactionaries who are seeking to present socialism as incompatible with freedom. The Cultural Revolution is showing that freedom for the workers is a characteristic of real socialism. It is precisely capitalism that does not comply with the democracy for the people.

4. The Proletarian Cultural Revolution plays a determining role in the mobilization and preparation of the Chinese people to cope with U.S. imperialism and its stooges. The Yankee aggression in Vietnam and the Pentagon's «escalation» policy in South-East Asia are a component part of the world stra-

tegy of the North American monopolies. The targets of this strategy are the encirclement of and the military attack on China.

By awakening the political conscience of the broad masses, the Cultural Revolution makes every citizen better to understand the need for the destruction of Yankee imperialism, the worst enemy of mankind; it strengthens the internationalist spirit of millions of Chinese. China's fraternal aid to Vietnam is the expression of a solidarity so far unprecedented in the relations between the peoples. The overwhelming majority of the population is ready to make any sacrifice to defend the revolutionary gains and to cooperate with the oppressed peoples of the whole world in the struggle for their liberation.

The Chinese people are preparing for a possible war, they are not afraid of the threats of the White House, nor of the Soviet-U.S. collusion, nor of the consequences of an atomic attack. The People's Liberation Army, armed with

Mao Tse-tung's thoughts, has a much higher morale than any other army in the world. The millions of Red Guard youths, a tremendous reserve of the heroic armed forces, make China still more powerful. Today, any aggressor, whether imperialist or revisionist, that would dare to violate Chinese territory, will find in every citizen a determined and invincible fighter and will be inevitably smashed.

5. A new man is being tempered in the impetuous development of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The fight for the complete triumph of socialism requires a new man, entirely free from vices, creeds and the degeneration of the old class societies. This is revolution in the conscience of the men and women. Selfishness, ambition, careerism and any other mean feeling cannot find place in those who fight for a noble cause as that of communism.

The Cultural Revolution helps real proletarian morals to prevail in society.

Its corner stone is the placing of general interest above the individual interest. Individualism prevails in a society in which there is exploitation of man by man. Morals in capitalist regimes are morals of the exploiters. They are based on the principle of profit, of drawing as much profit as possible at the expense of the workers. Everyone strives for himself and for his own family, not being concerned at all with the fate of those living in inhuman conditions. The well-being of a minority rests on the sufferings of the majority. The desire for profits and brutality prevail. Even when a person devotes himself to some useful social activity, indeed he aims only at a position, titles and rewards. On the contrary, in socialism, the general interest stands above everything else. The proletarian morals are those of the emancipation of man from every form of exploitation, the morals of unity and solidarity between the working people, of hatred towards parasites and all those living on the work of others. The happiness of

each one is conditioned by the wellbeing of the whole community. Man has no ambition for glory, material incentives or leading posts. His principal and sole duty is to fully serve the people.

For all these reasons, this question in China has been placed on the forefront. The duty of the formation of a new man is one of the most complex and difficult duties requiring much time. The cultural revolution analyzes in a serious and large-scale manner this problem on which the destinies of socialism depend to a large extent. In this respect Mao Tse-tung's thoughts exercise a guiding function. The three famous articles «In memory of Norman Bethune», «The Foolish Old Man Moving Mountains» and «Serve the People», of an essentially ideological content, bring up the broad masses of China with the spirit of persistence, simplicity, heroism, self-denial and unreserved devotion to the interest of the collectivity. As a result of the ideological work in progress, there have begun to spring up from the bosom of

the people real heroes of our era, who do everything for the common good and do not hesitate to lay down even their lives if need arises.

The principle of living and working like proletarian revolutionaries is on the order of the day in China. The construction of socialism is a long process requiring persistence, courage, fight against routine and conservativeness. One should continually fight to get rid of the influence of capitalism and to live up to the new demands of social development. The Cultural Revolution has forcefully stressed the need that people should dare to think, speak and act, which are characteristics of a genuine revolutionary. Laying stress on these questions, the revolution revived the life of everybody. It put to test the behavior of people, of the communist in particular. It revealed what was bourgeois and petty-bourgeois in the private and public life of many citizens, and even in those of prominent Party members. It discovered that many had lagged behind as compared with the

development of the revolutionary movement in China or that they had departed from the correct path. It stressed the need for remoulding one's self on the basis of the repeated self-criticism, so that everybody should get rid of the sham concepts and embark on the road of socialism.

6. Mao Tse-tung skillfully stressed the need for the cultural Revolution as indispensable stage of socialist revolution and formulated its general principles. Analyzing for a long time the practice of the masses and relying on their creative initiatives, he marked the road which is leading the movement towards ever greater successes. He made, thereby, a new valuable, theoretical and practical contribution to the struggle of the working class and of all the oppressed people.

In our days, Mao Tse-tung is the most faithful interpreter of Marxism-Leninism. Lenin was teaching that the doctrine of the proletariat, elaborated by Marx and Engels, is not a dogma. It is a means of the struggle of the exploited

classes and for the liberation of the peoples; it responds to the questions raised by life and is incessantly enriched by revolutionary activity. In every epoch there come into being people who deeply master Marxism, they put it into practice in a creative manner and greatly develop it raising to higher degrees. During his life, Lenin not only interpreted in a ingenious manner, but also enriched it with new theses and conclusions. Leninism became the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. So great was the contribution he made to Marxism that his name became indissolubly linked with the theory of the proletariat. Stalin, too, contributed to the flourishing of Marxism, scoring outstanding successes in leading the Soviet Party and State. Mao Tse-tung knew how to put it into practice, in a creative manner, in China's conditions and led the Chinese people from victory to victory, to the complete liberation from imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capital.

Countless are the contributions which

Mao Tse-tung made to Marxism-Leninism in the fields of philosophy, economics, social sciences, military art and party building. His thought respond to the most urgent questions of the present time. He immeasurably enriched the theory of revolution in the colonial and dependent countries; he formulated the doctrine and principles of the people's war, whose correctness was confirmed not only in China but also in other countries. Drawing inspiration from his teachings, the Chinese are building up socialism and are transforming their country into a powerful and invincible state. The great battle being fought today by the peoples against modern revisionism, has in the person of Mao Tse-tung the principal ideologist and leader. Thus, he provided the peoples with a sharp weapon for their liberation and Marxism-Leninism has been raised to a new degree.

For this reason, the Chinese people and the revolutionaries in other countries, in their efforts to accomplish their tasks, diligently study Mao Tse-tung's thoughts.

In China, every unit of the armed forces, every factory, the universities and people's communes are being transformed into schools where Mao Tse-tung's teachings are studied. People are trying to put them into practice in their day to day activities. As a result, Marxism-Leninism is resorted to by ordinary people to solve problems of their daily life. Dialectic materialism is becoming indeed a means in the hands of the masses. The ideology of the proletariat is penetrating into the conscience of everybody, filling up the vacuum left by the ideology of the exploiting classes. This assimilation of Marxism on such a broad scale will undoubtedly bring about qualitative changes in the world outlook of the people and in the structure of Chinese society.

7. The broadening and deepening of the Cultural Revolution inevitably arouses the hatred and hostility of the regressive forces as well as of the old type communists who did not manage to assimilate the theory of the proletariat.

The strongest resistance to the Cultural Revolution is put up by those elements who, holding leading posts in the Party and the State, have embarked on the road which leads to capitalism. Due to the positions they hold, these elements constitute a serious obstacle in carrying out the Revolution. Against them is directed the spearhead of the mass movement of the Cultural Revolution. This movement wipes out those Party leaders who are afraid of the masses, who are intimidated by their spontaneous manifestations, who detach themselves from their aspirations and finish by counterposing themselves to their revolutionary actions. The non-proletarian concepts of these elements are being discredited and persistently fought. Although they may have merits from the past, the elements adopting erroneous positions and not making self-criticism, are relieved of their posts. If it were not acted in this way, Red China would run the risk of changing colour. The proletarian cultural revolution purges the party from the

opportunists and bureaucrats, tempers real communists and strengthens the partisans of the left, really socialist trend.

Against the cultural revolution rise also the imperialists, the revisionists and reactionaries throughout the world. The Yankee monopolists, the Soviet revisionists, the British labourites, the Japanese militarists, the Indian ruling clique, the Yugoslav renegades, the parties which obey the conductor's baton of the CPSU and the whole rusk of reaction unite into a holy alliance. They furiously and systematically attack the cultural Revolution; they spread lies and slanders. In this anti-China campaign, there is no difference between Johnson and Kosygin, between the United Press and the TASS Agency, between the «New York Times» and «Pravda». They seek to deceive public opinion by distorting the facts. Rushing against China, the reactionaries and opportunists concentrate their attacks on Mao Tse-tung. They hate him because he is leading wisely and with a steel hand his people and because he is the

leader of the revolutionary peoples in the struggle for their national liberation, for democracy and socialism.

This campaign reflects the deadly fear by which the imperialists and revisionists are obsessed in the face of the cultural revolution. The U.S. warmongers realize that the cultural revolution raises an insurmountable wall for the plans of world domination and portends the end of imperialism. The Soviet revisionists know that the cultural revolution contributes to the exposure of the policy of treachery towards socialism and helps the working masses of the Soviet Union to rise against the Khrushchevite group controlling the Party and State machineries.

8) In our country, the reactionary sectors furiously rush against the cultural revolution. Not a single day passes without the bourgeois newspapers devoting a broad space to insult it. They do all this so that the people should not know the truth. This is their deadly fear in the face

of the growth of the revolutionary forces in the world and in the face of the fact that the popular masses of Brazil are embarking on the road of liberation.

The revisionists of the Brazilian CP join the chorus of the reactionaries and agents of U.S. imperialism in their fight against the cultural revolution. They adopt cynical decisions which are real insults against the Chinese people who carried out one of the greatest revolutions in history and who have now raised high the banner of Marxism-Leninism. Thus, they still more reveal their features of inveterate opportunists and of despicable men who bow their heads before the conductor's baton of the CPSU.

There exist also sectors connected with the democratic movement that do not understand yet the aims of the cultural revolution. Making reservations in this important event, they indeed are opposed to it. They grasp some error that may exist in the mass movement of that revolution. Those who act in this way look at the trees and leave the forest

behind them. In every great revolution errors are inevitable. However, these errors are quite insignificant compared with the grandeur of the struggle. The resolution of the CC of the CP of China, of August last year, does not conceal the existence of errors in the process of the cultural revolution. «In a revolutionary movement of such proportions,» the resolution says «it is difficult to avoid errors of one nature or another. Nevertheless, its general revolutionary orientation has been correct from the very outset. This is the prevailing trend in the great proletarian cultural revolution. It will continue to advance on this general road». The positive aspects indisputably prevail in the panorama of the cultural revolution. The errors are small shadows which can be easily wiped out and which cannot obscure the lofty objectives.

It is impossible to imagine that a movement having the proportions of the cultural revolution should develop normally without violating, in different respects, the established order. Those

who are impressed by second-rate aspects of the violence of the masses, do not understand what a real revolution is. The latter, as Mao Tse-tung puts it, «is not carried out in the way you accomplish a literary work, a drawing or a piece of embroidery; it cannot take shape with so much elegance, tranquillity and delicacy, or with so much sweetness, kindness, correctness, moderation and magnanimity. Revolution is an uprising, an act of violence by which a class overthrows another.»

Under the influence of the harmful ideas of the XX Congress of the CPSU, some persons do not hesitate to state that the cultural revolution is an expression of the so-called personality cult. That is a foolish and groundless viewpoint. The personality cult is a frontal denial of the role of the masses. Today in China, hundreds of millions of men and women directly intervene in the political life and are the motive force of the cultural revolution. One cannot confound the great and deserved prestige of Mao Tse-tung,

the admiration and love that the overwhelming majority of the Chinese population and the working people throughout the world nourish for him, with the personality cult. The fact that China and the exploited and oppressed peoples have such a talented and great leader, constitutes a very much favourable factor for the world revolution. It is a good luck for mankind that there exists a leader who, parallel with his immeasurable prestige, has in himself rare and valuable qualities of a leader. Mao Tse-tung rightly expresses the need for the development of society, he accurately expresses the desires and aspirations of the broad masses and indicates the safe road for the liberation struggle of the peoples. He did not impose his leadership. He was confirmed in a long period of struggles, in which his thought has been broadly confirmed in life. To extol Mao Tse-tung's name and to spread his ideas means to help the revolution to forge ahead. The revisionists, who manipulate the so-called personality cult to attack the cultural

revolution, are nothing more than declared hypocrites and enemies of socialism. They make use of the personality cult in order to smear Marxism-Leninism, they seek to impose their opportunist theses and to disarm the peoples in their fight against imperialism.

The Brazilian revolutionaries rejoice at the successes of the cultural revolution. Despite the propaganda of the reactionaries and revisionists, the working people of our country, with their concepts stemming from their conditions as oppressed, have a presentiment of on which side the right is. If imperialism and revisionism obstinately smear the cultural revolutions, this happens because this revolution defends the interests of the masses.

9) The Cultural Revolution has a very great significance for all the peoples, not only because it is being carried out in a country whose number of inhabitants accounts for one-fourth of the population of the terrestrial globe, but also

because of the problems it faces, problems directly connected with the world revolution. By fighting against social injustices and for a society without privileges, the cultural revolution wins the sympathy of the poor and the oppressed people of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

As a more advanced stage of socialist revolution, the cultural revolution is an invaluable aid to the labour movement, to the national-liberation struggles and to the leftist, Marxist-Leninist trends in the countries where revisionism is in power. It is a great example influencing the life of all people, as it happened with the greatest revolutions in history. Although the stage through which the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are passing is not that of the cultural revolution, the latter, by its vivifying ideas, by its style and prospects, inspires the revolutionary movement.

Smashing her internal enemies, strengthening her economic situation and her army, having an unbreakable politi-

cal and ideological unity among her people, China is playing with every passing day her role as the mainstay of the revolutionary movement. The U.S. imperialists see in China the main obstacle on their way of carrying out their predatory plans, and they concentrate their preparations of war against her. On the other hand, the oppressed peoples and the workers of the whole world see in the Chinese people their most powerful ally and stand on their side in the struggle against the Soviet-U.S. plots.

10) The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Brazil expresses its most ardent and fullest support to the proletarian cultural Revolution and the revolutionary forces of China. Mao Tse-tung's leadership, tried and tested in one-thousand and one battles of the class struggle, will overcome all and every obstacle and the Chinese people will finally smash all those who hamper or who are opposed to China's march towards socialism. Mao Tse-tung's thoughts

open new vistas for the liberation of mankind from the chains of capitalism. The Central Committee is convinced that the Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat in China will emerge stronger from this historic day and more capable of accomplishing their new tasks.

The Brazilian communists are taking an ever greater interest in the development of the cultural revolution and are trying to profit by its valuable teachings. With a view to imbuing the Party militants with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and facilitating the comprehension of the main problems of revolution in our country, the Central Committee deems it indispensable that Mao Tse-tung's works should be studied. This would greatly help to deeply analyze the Brazilian reality and to correctly put in practice the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism under our revolutionary conditions.

Long live the unbreakable friendship between the C.P. of Brazil and the C.P. of China.

Long live the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Long live Mao Tse-tung, the leader of the Chinese people and of the workers of the whole world.

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF
BRAZIL

April, 1967.

THE BEACON LIGHT OF SOCIALISM IN EUROPE

— Joao Amazonas —

In a reactionary Europe plunged in opportunism, the People's Republic of Albania stands forth as an outpost of revolution. This little country on the Adriatic shores symbolizes today the traditions and is an honor of the European revolutionary working class which for tens of years has been the hope of the workers of the world. Branded by the revisionists of the Old World, Marxism-Leninism has assumed a fresh glow in the noble and heroic Albania. The communists there raise high the banner of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The Party of Labor of Albania stands in the foreranks of those who fight imperialism and modern revisionism. Right

after the close of the Second World War its voice was raised in denouncing Tito's treachery and his attempts at annexation. When Khrushchev launched an unexpected treacherous attack on the Chinese Communist Party at the Bucharest Meeting in 1960, the Albanian delegates defied all consequences and exposed the vicious manoeuvres of the Soviet leaders. From that day on the Party of Labor of Albania has never for a moment ceased its fight against the renegades and distorters of Marxism-Leninism.

At its 5th Congress, held during the latter part of last year, the Party of Labor of Albania reasserted once again its revolutionary stand and approved important measures to ensure the construction of socialism. At this Congress a good picture was drawn of the great achievements attained in Albania in all fields of activity and of the considerable enhancement of the international prestige of the Party of Labor of Albania. Comrade Enver Hoxha's report to the Congress set forth new ideas about the present

situation, treated with courage problems which preoccupy the revolutionaries of the whole world and pointed out the way it should lead the Albanian people in their endeavors to build new society. Enver Hoxha gave a clear solution to the various problems of the day, enriching in this way the doctrine of the proletariat. The correct leadership of the Party of Labor of Albania enabled the Albanian people to score brilliant successes. One of the most backward countries, lacking industry and means of communication, lacking schools and hospitals, with a very low standard of living, succeeded in turning into an advanced and prosperous country within two decades. In order to give an idea of the progress attained, it suffices to draw a speedy comparison between the situation existing prior to the Second World War and that of the last two years. Thus, for instance, the total volume of industrial production of the whole year in 1938 was realized in less than 11 days in 1965, whereas the volume of goods and passengers

transported during the same period was realized in 6 and 3 1/2 days respectively. The average span of life which used to be 38 years on the eve of the world conflict, reached 65 years by the year of 1964. A population of 2 million inhabitants has today 425 thousand persons attending school. During these recent years Albania has set up a number of important industrial projects with China's aid. New workshops and electric power plants have been set up, like those of chemical fertilizers and caustic soda, the copper wire plant, paper mills, the tractor spare part works, a big textile complex, etc. The naphtha industry is being developed at full speed. The young Albanian geologists discovered rich oil beds in spots where Soviet technicians had maliciously stated their non-existence.

The Party of Labor of Albania is a revolutionary organization of highest merits. Its leaders thoroughly mastered Marxism-Leninism and applied it in a creative way. Not losing sight of what was universal in the experience of other

countries, they succeeded in picking what is adaptable to the specific national conditions of Albania.

In assuming power and setting up their Party, the Albanian communists pursued a course of their own. As regards armed struggle, they were able to size up correctly the real situation of the country. They started in cities and then transferred it to the countryside which offered better opportunity to manoeuvre against the attacks of the enemy. The liberation forces grew and gained enough strength to liberate the country and to score final victory. The Party was set up and waxed strong in the heat of battle. The fact that the Party of Labor of Albania headed the liberation struggle from the day it was founded in 1941 to final victory in 1945 constitutes a special characteristic of Albanian Revolution.

Today the Party of Labor of Albania directs socialist construction bearing always in mind the national characteristics of the country. Having mastered dialectic materialism, its leaders, headed

by Enver Hoxha, have always acted independently without sticking to dogmas and without making mechanical changes. Relying on Marxism-Leninism, they succeeded in rejecting Khrushchev's opportunist theses. They gave proof of their theoretical ability and militant spirit at a time when those theses were being upheld by a party which was considered at the time as a model for revolutionaries and which ran a powerful country. The Party of Labor of Albania did not submit to the bandmaster's baton of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Albania, which was subjected to the ruthless attacks of the Soviet revisionists and reactionaries, faced the difficulties with courage. Relying on its own efforts it scored major successes. The clear-cut stand of the leaders of the Party of Labor of Albania won the admiration and commanded the respect of the workers of the whole world.

Albania is carrying out its ideological revolution just as the People's Republic of China. This revolution springs from the

objective necessity of overcoming difficulties arising in the way towards socialism and complies, at the same time, with the exigencies of the country. Enver Hoxha and his companions have long directed their attention to the phenomena of degeneration in certain socialist countries and the eventuality existing for these phenomena to occur in Albania as well. Making an analysis of present Albanian society, they reached important conclusions and established principles to correct mistakes, so that socialist revolution might proceed nonstop. In its Open Letter published on March 4, 1966, the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania raised some very important ideological problems, detected shortcomings and presented solutions for them. It initiated a process aiming at revolutionizing the conscience of the masses.

Measures were taken to enhance the authority of state organs elected by the people and to ensure the supremacy of the People's Assembly, so that the sovereign will of the masses may predomi-

nate. Undue concentration of authority in state institutions was fought against. Attributes formerly held on a state level were turned over directly to the people. Thus, for instance, sentences on minor offences against social property are no longer within the competence of regular courts of justice. It is the masses who solve these issues everywhere. Thus, in addition to decentralization, a method is in use which allows for persons who infringe upon public interests to correct themselves and helps in educating the masses in the spirit of socialism. The state apparatus must be simplified and made less costly. In order to attain this, 15 thousand state employees were released from the functions they fulfilled and are now engaged in production. In addition to being drilled intensively for the defense of the country, the Army engages, at the same time, in providing for its own needs, by producing things for consumption. Salaries of state and party employees were reduced, so that the difference between the pay and

standard of living of leading cadres may be narrowed down as much as possible. Ranks in the Army were abolished. With a view to bringing the city as close to the countryside as possible and the city people to get a first hand view of the hard work of peasants, the rule was established for every city dweller to take part in farm work. In 1966 nearly all city dwellers spent 15 days in the countryside helping farmers. During the present year this participation is expected to last several weeks.

At the 5th Congress Enver Hoxha treated extensively and thoroughly all problems connected with ideological revolution. He stressed the need of taking a proletarian class stand in every activity and of ceaselessly fighting against bourgeois concepts. The class struggle is not waged only against the bourgeoisie and their representatives. Who claims of being a genuine revolutionary must wipe away from his mind every idea alien to the interests of workers. «No one», Enver Hoxha says, «should think he is exempt

from all prejudices and that there is nothing he should fight against in himself.» In this way he persuaded the communists and the masses to make the necessary changes in their consciousness, so that they might better serve the people and socialism. The First Secretary of the Party of Labor of Albania denounced the bourgeois way of living and the tendency to copy the refined and degenerated fashion of capitalist countries. In the motto «Think, work, and live like revolutionaries», he synthesized all the rich and thoroughly revolutionary content of the ideological revolution. The Albanian workers and youth are, thus, guided by high objectives which go a long way to enhancing their vigilance against bad customs, indifference, petty egoism, and personal comfort, characteristics these of the exploiting classes.

Facts have proved the correctness of the general directives of the Party of Labor of Albania. It was right for it to denounce Tito and Khrushchev and, later, Brezhnev and Kosygin as irreconcilable

enemies of socialism. It was equally right for it to point out, at its 5th Congress, the danger which the alliance of Soviet revisionism with North American imperialism spells for mankind. This danger is particularly evident in the Vietnam war. The Soviet leaders pose as being at one with the victims of Yankee aggressors and, at the same time, conclude agreements and treaties with the aggressors. They do all this in collusion with Yankee monopolists, in order to lead the Vietnam people towards capitulation. «You can not be an ally and friend of the Vietnamese people», the Albanians say, «and, at the same time, a friend and ally of the American aggressors». The Soviet revisionists resorted to as vile ways as to make common cause with the Washington warmongers in their base anti-Chinese campaign and their preparations for an attack on China. They reached the acme of betrayal, when they decided to divide the world into zones of influence with the United States of America. This is why revolu-

tionary peoples cannot but applaud the words of the great Albanian leader, when he stated at the 5th Congress: «Exposing and smashing Soviet-U.S. alliance is now a duty of historic importance.»

In carrying out this task, the Party of Labor of Albania does not confine itself to merely condemning modern revisionism and imperialism. It strives to set up a communist movement to be characterized by the revolutionary and combative spirit of the times of Lenin and Stalin. Its leaders are fully aware of the need to set up and strengthen genuine Marxist-Leninist parties. They were certain that such parties would come into being and that they would rest their best hopes on them. They encouraged and encourage the setting up of true vanguards of the working class and they render them all their political and moral support. The presence at the 5th Congress of delegates from thirty Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations from five continents is a proof of this support

and a confirmation of the correctness of its views. This stand towards the revolutionary workers' movement bears witness of the internationalist attitude of the leaders of the Party of Labor of Albania. They gave proof of their wisdom when they foresaw, at the time when the situation was not yet well defined, that the future belongs to the new revolutionary forces, although they are still weak, and not to the old revisionist parties, which appear strong on the surface but which are doomed to total failure. At the 5th Congress, Enver Hoxha stated likewise that «in the growth and development of these revolutionary forces we see the only correct way to the victory of Marxism-Leninism and the liquidation of revisionism.»

The Communist Party of Brazil will always be grateful for the aid the Albanians gave it. It will never forget that during the critical moments of its reorganization in 1962, when it was being treacherously attacked by the revisionists and reactionaries, of which not many

were aware, the Party of Labor of Albania placed its trust in our Party and did not hesitate to own it publicly.

In line with its internationalist spirit the Party of Labor of Albania insisted at this same Congress on closer contacts between the Marxist-Leninist parties. It is not a question of reviving the 3rd Internationale, but of establishing stronger and permanent contacts between the vanguards of the proletariat throughout the world. «Marxist-Leninists,» Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «must strengthen their collaboration and joint actions, they must work out a common line, and maintain a common stand towards the most fundamental problems, particularly towards those connected with the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and the new alliances set up under the real conditions of the present conjuncture. The situation demands a combative tactics, which would help our revolutionary strategy every day and every moment, being, at the same time, a well thoughtout and

wise tactics to conform to the situation and circumstances under which each party is operating.» This is a thesis of major importance and the Communist Party of Brazil endorses it wholeheartedly.

Endowed with highest revolutionary sentiments, the Party of Labor of Albania appreciates the role the Chinese Communist Party and its great and prominent leader Mao Tse-tung play at the historic epoch, in which we are living. The great socialist state of Asia represents the strongest and principal mainstay of revolution and liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples. The Yankee warmongers, in collusion with the Soviet revisionists, are making active preparations for aggression against China, against which they are waging a most frantic campaign. This is one of the two reasons, on which the Albanian communists base their appeal to every revolutionary to wage their war in three directions: to fight U.S. imperialism, to expose to the end revisionism and to firmly defend

People's China. Chinese-Albanian friendship is an example of unbreakable solidarity. The fraternal relations of mutual aid between China and Albania are unprecedented in the life of peoples. Putting into practice the principles of proletarian internationalism, China contributed selflessly to the development of Albania and to making it stronger. Albania, on its part, courageously champions in the Old World the cause of defending China from the attacks of the U.S. imperialists and the revisionists of the Soviet Union. Comrade Enver Hoxha said at the 5th Congress: «To support People's China and prevent it from being invaded by the imperialists and their lackeys, the revisionists, is a duty of historic significance and a matter of life and death for all freedomloving revolutionary forces and people.» And he stressed: «Our people, Party and government march together with the great Chinese People and the great Communist Party of China along the long revolutionary trail and they will keep together advancing shoulder to shoulder both in

days of calmness as well as under great storms, fighting imperialism and modern revisionism for the triumph of revolution and socialism».

Albania is in the forefront of battle for the national liberation and social emancipation of peoples. Its leaders are capable and true Marxist-Leninists. They are plain and unpretentious and closely bound with the masses. Heading the Party of Labor of Albania, Enver Hoxha has shown that he is a firm revolutionary, a tested and courageous leader and is wholeheartedly devoted to the cause of communism. His contribution as regards theory and practice has been valuable to the world workers and democratic movement.

The Communist Party of Brazil has a lot to learn from the Party of Labor of Albania. To keep strengthening the bounds of friendship between the Brazilian and Albanian communists means to forge ahead along the path of revolution. It behooves all those, who are wholeheartedly interested in liberating man-

kind from imperialist fetters, to aid and defend Albania, which is, likewise, the mainstay of the world revolutionary movement.

Unshakable as a rock, the People's Republic of Albania is a beacon light of socialism in Europe blazoning the way to liberation for peoples.

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